1: Vanhove--2A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 6]

●342

A hill chief and his family sitting on the threshold of their home. In the foreground can be seen the imitabo, a very low, festoon-shaped mud walls.

291

Reverend Father Pages surrounded by young Batutsi men.

(Both photos taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--3A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

●342

[opp. p. 7]

External view of a provincial chief's rugo.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten [285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 513 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usámbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [289] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 364 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build
342 several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

2: Meyer--244 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 10

342
164
291

Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

697
142
291

Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 18

342
346
516

Hut in Northwest Urundi with Little Spirit Hut
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

342
516

Hut in Northwest Urundi with Bahutu Women
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--253 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

361
342
137

Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden [411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Aug/st]

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.

351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

[824]

1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

342
769

2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

644
[347] This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is, "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

539
825

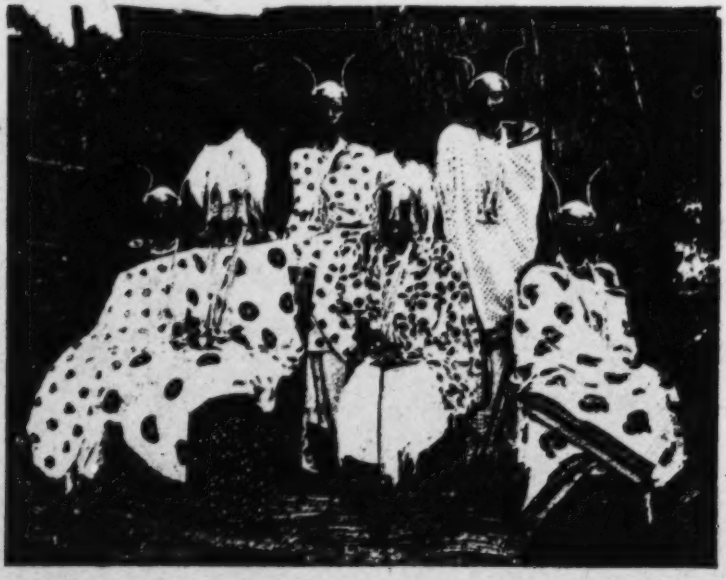
1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

5: Pages--265 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

643
142
291
342
411
302
516
644

King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

643
644
292



King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

●342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical base of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [556] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

342 made of bundles of sticks solidly packed together and fastened horizontally. On the outside the vertical layer is likewise held together by horizontal hoops made of bundles of sticks. This close-meshed lattice is carefully thatched with straw. The walls rise to a truncated point; capped with straw, from which rises a pole more than a meter high.

The entrance to the hut is framed with thick bundles of sticks and protected by an arched projecting roof, an extension of the wall of the hut. In contrast to the building method in Kiziba, this projection and the wall are a single unit, and the horizontal hoops run through it, so that from the interior of the hut one sees the entire roof of the anteroom. In Kiziba one can see only the doorframe to which the anteroom is added from the outside.

Northwest of Lake Kivu the huts have two entrances, probably in order to facilitate flight in case of a surprise attack. In Kishari, according to Dr. Kandt (1), the entrances are opposite each other;

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 477.

in Mushari, at right angles to one another. This arrangement must have been borrowed from the Babira [Bira] (Barega), for among the Babira at the headwaters of the Ituri I saw entrances facing each other. However, this arrangement can also be seen in Uele among the Mangbele of Gumbari.

The roof of the Ruanda hut is supported in the center above the entrance by a short, thin pole which is driven into the middle of the threshold at the edge which is ω-shaped, ten centimeters high and equally wide.

On the inside the frame of the hut is supported by a number of tree trunks, about ten to fifteen centimeters thick, with forks cut into the top to grasp the horizontal hoops.

The interior supports are placed very irregularly, and there is no central upright that would serve as the axis of the building. The pole at the peak of the hut has no relation to the supporting posts. Almost in the center of the hut are the four posts that surround the hearth. If the hut is smaller, there are fewer supports. They are

342 the largest pieces of wood used for the hut. No larger timbers are needed for the entire construction, and in the case of smaller huts millet straw and elephant grass can be used.

[204] Here, as in Kiziba, the supporting posts seem to have a ritualistic significance, but I could not find out anything further about this. I only succeeded in observing again and again that one of the uprights had a white band painted on it with kaolin (runoni), which supposedly meant that the owner of the hut had performed a ceremony. I was not able to find out, however, whether this had something to do perhaps with initiation into a secret society.

A rectangular woven shield is used to close the door opening, which is supported by posts driven into the ground on either side of the entrance. Sometimes there are two posts on either side and the door shield is slid between them. The woven door shields are used throughout the interlacustrine region. In the west, however, for example, among the Baamba, they are replaced by door shields made of boards, three of which are usually tied together.

The Batwa huts do not differ in principle from those of the rest of the Banyaruanda. They are merely smaller and much more carelessly built. However, according to Lieutenant A. Couche, who told me this personally, the Batwa in the vicinity of Uvira live in trees. It seems to me, however, that my informant did not have an opportunity to observe this himself.

If a person wants to build a house, the site he chooses is tested with butter. The choice is a happy one only if the piece of butter placed there at night is still there the next morning (1), which

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 425.

probably indicates that there are no termites. The king is said to make this test with a piece of intobotobo yi mivembe.

If the test is successful, the future owner of the house prepares beer and sees that food is on hand. When all the preparations have

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[76] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut
125 unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
787 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka •342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par- 352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

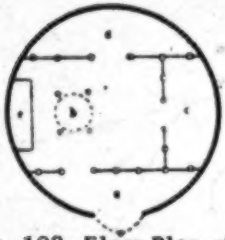


Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be closed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

6: Czekanowski--113 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

●342

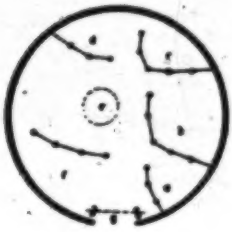


Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.

415
285

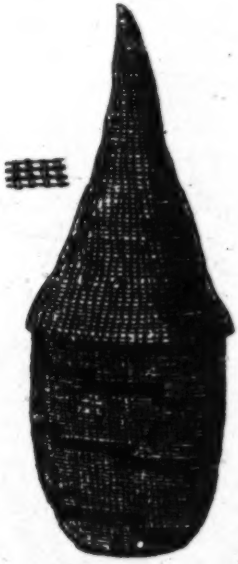


Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[359] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the ap-
[591] proach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
● 342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-